ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW
ED002028	NA	NA	

4. AUTHOR(S):
Peeples, Edward H., Jr.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:
A Perspective of the Prince Edward County School Issue

6. PUBLICATION TITLE:
NA

7. EDITOR(S):
NA

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
Graduate School
ORG. University of Pennsylvania
ST.
CITY, STATE Philadelphia, Penna.

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE
Graduate School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna.

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
NA	NA	1963	87

TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE
YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED
YES ☐ NO ☒

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED
YES ☐ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR Master of Arts Thesis

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

locale	socioeconomical factor	U.S. Office of Education	administration	Prince Edward County, Virginia, Schools	
community attitudes	Negro role	supplies	physical/mental health	teacher role	
county history	voter registration	rural inhabitants	human relations		
	illiteracy	integration	personnel	school system reestablishment	

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Attempts to answer the following questions about the school situation in Prince Edward County, Virginia, were presented. Why were public schools closed and how did the closing come about? What kind of locality was this which would resort to such an extraordinary measure? What generally were the attitudes and arguments underlying the issue? What has happened to the county's people and its schools? And what can we expect to happen in the future public education in this Virginia County?

Beginning with a detailed historical, political, and socioeconomic analysis of Edward County, the study examined each of these questions in depth. As a result of the school closing, a larger Negro voter registration was discernible. There were only 900 Negroes registered in the county in 1961, but in 1962 the number was 1,126. Also, as a result of the school closing, an extensive and rapidly growing illiteracy was apparent. An estimated one out of four in the county would be illiterate, using the United States Office of Education definition of illiteracy as the standard.

Another alarming aspect of the school closing was the decline in physical and mental health of the rural inhabitants of the county through ignorance and neglect. The difficulty of reestablishing a school system, when and if the public schools were reopened on a desegregated basis, was enormous. Personnel teaching, administrative, and custodial, would have to be recruited. Books and supplies should be provided, and a transportation system should be set up. The problems of reopening were serious, but the result of remaining closed would be calamitous.

A bibliography was included.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OF PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

2

ERIC Form 1

VIRGINIA--PRINCE EDWARD CO.

Peeples

1

A PERSPECTIVE OF THE PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY SCHOOL ISSUE

ED002028

EDWARD HARDEN PEEPLES, JR.

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PRINTED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

A Thesis

In Human Relations

Presented to the Faculty of the

Graduate School of the University of

Pennsylvania in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts"

1963

Office of Education-EEOP

Research and Materials Branch

Bennett O. Stalvey

The author would like to acknowledge the generous assistance received from the Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations, University of Pennsylvania, which made this report possible. More specifically, the author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Martin P. Chworowsky for his perpetually patient support and his exceedingly helpful criticisms, to Miss Madeleine Pearson for her punctilious typing, and to that handful of others who provided sustaining aid.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION.	1
I.	BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE COUNTY	3
II.	OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL ISSUE	15
III.	EDUCATION FOR WHITE PUPILS.	34
IV.	THE FATE OF THE NEGROES	44
V.	THE STATUS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS SINCE CLOSING.	55
VI.	THE DECATE.	59
VII.	THREE APPARENT EFFECTS OF SCHOOL CLOSING.	70
VIII.	THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY.	75
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.	81

INTRODUCTION

The doors of public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia, were closed at the end of the spring term of 1959 and have remained closed to both the county's white and Negro students ever since. This action followed some five years of defiance of the famous U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 and has, as of this writing, made Prince Edward County the only locality in the United States which does not provide its youngsters with some kind of public education.

To the social scientist or to those who might be alarmed by such an extreme situation several questions are immediately raised—Why were public schools closed and how did closing come about? What kind of locality is this which would resort to such an extraordinary measure? What generally are the attitudes and arguments underlying the issue? Also, what has happened to the county's people and its schools? And finally, what can we expect to happen in the future to public education in this Virginia county? It is these questions which this paper will attempt to answer.

In an effort to come to an understanding of the school crisis in Prince Edward this author has begun a rather extensive field study of which this paper is a report on the preliminary and exploratory stages. The field methods in the study included interviews, photographic documentation, a number of different types of observations and the use of public documents, notices and periodicals which serve the county and its environs. In addition, extensive use of a variety of demographic

materials, as well as other secondary sources, has done much to shed light on the Prince Edward situation.

The first field work was begun in the winter of 1960 and continued intermittently until August of 1961. Additional and more intensive field work was done in December, 1962, and January, 1963.

The author has elected, for the sake of expediency and in respect for the limits of such a paper as this, to avoid detailed discussion or defense of the methods utilized in this study. Instead, we shall dwell on the findings. However, the reader must be alert to the fact that many of the observations asserted in this paper require qualifications by virtue of the several shortcomings in the amount and types of data used. The relatively brief time spent in the field and reviewing secondary data, as well as the less than desirable number of interviews, unfortunately, places a number of reservations on this discourse. Despite this, it is believed that a satisfactory preliminary comprehension of the school issue in the county has been developed.

It is suggested that the reader may find it helpful to keep in mind that the reports and descriptions of attitudes and other subjective responses have been considered by the author as "modal responses," that is, they indicate some relative central tendency among the range of all responses and are thereby considered as representative of the feelings and impressions of Prince Edward County residents or a particular segment of those residents.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE COUNTY

To facilitate an understanding of the Prince Edward situation it is believed that one should first become familiar with some basic background information about the county in general. This chapter then covers many different aspects of the county in the hope that it will enhance the reader's awareness of the context in which the school issue is set.

Prince Edward County was formed in 1753 from parts of Amelia County. It was named for Prince Edward the son of Frederick, Prince of Wales and the younger brother of King George III.[1] Farmville, the present county seat and the only incorporated community in the county with over 500 inhabitants,[2] was established in 1798.[3]

The county is an area of 357 square miles[4] situated in the north-central section of what is traditionally termed "Southside Virginia." "Southside" is a part of that section of the southeastern United States

---

[1] From Highway Historical markers maintained by the Virginia Department of Conservation and Development.

[2] Official State Highway Map Issued by the Commonwealth of Virginia, Department of Highways, 1962.

[3] John C. Steck, "The Prince Edward County Virginia Story" (Farmville: The Farmville Herald, 1961), p. 27.

[4] County and City Data Book (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 1962), p. 392.

which is known as the "Black Belt."[5] The "Black Belt" is made up of a string of counties stretching from "Tidewater" Virginia south and west to east Texas, all of which possess the highest ratio of Negroes to their total populations than any other counties in the United States.[6]

The term "Southside," like its parent term, the "Black Belt," denotes a sharing of many common economic and cultural characteristics. All of these counties are predominately rural, have Negroes in excess of one-third of their total population and possess mores and/or laws which strictly enforce separation of the races.[7]

Prince Edward County is shaped amazingly like the United States minus the peninsula of Florida. The town of Farmville is located on the north-central border in the same relative position that one would find Duluth, Minnesota, on the United States map.

The county is divided into seven minor civil subdivisions. They include the town of Farmville and six magisterial districts. The six districts are relatively equal in land area and somewhat rectangular in shape. They include Buffalo in the south-west, Prospect in the north-west, Farmville (district) in the north-central, Hampden in the south-central, Lockett in the north-east, and Leigh in the south-eastern section of the county.[8]

---

[5] From the experiences of the author as a native of the region.

[6] "Next Steps in the South" (Atlanta: a pamphlet published by the Southern Regional Council, undated), map entitled "Percentage of Non-white Population in Counties of Southern States" inside front cover.

[7] Ibid. and also from author's observations.

[8] Map, Prince Edward County, Virginia, prepared by the Department of Highways, Richmond, Virginia, January 1, 1961.

Besides the town of Farmville, there are eight small unincorporated communities which serve as land marks of importance to both the state and the local citizenry. Also, they serve to identify communal interaction and describe residence reference points. They include Rice, on U.S. 460 in Lockett district; Prospect, on U.S. 460 in Prospect district; Pamplin City, on U.S. 460 which is only in part in Buffalo district (the major part is in Appomattox, the next county to the west); Hampden Sydney, on Virginia Route 133; Worsham, on U.S. 15 in Hampden district; Green Bay and Meherrin both on U.S. 360 in Leigh district; and Darlington Heights, on Virginia secondary road number 660 in Buffalo district.[9]

From all the interviews and other available data one can see three primary hubs of economic activity in the county. There are others, of course, but of less apparent significance.

The major focus of economic activity is Farmville which serves the primary economic interests of roughly the northern two thirds of Prince Edward County as well as most of Buckingham and Cumberland counties, the western part of Amelia county and the small eastern section of Appomattox county. It probably serves secondary economic interests of at least nine counties in the region.

The other two hubs of economic activity are Burkeville, only two to four miles over the Prince Edward line in Nottoway County, and Keysville, about six miles from the Prince Edward border in Charlotte County. Both of these towns have less population than Farmville and in

---

[9]From highway signs and milage markers on U.S., state and county roads. Also, from interviews with county residents.

regional economic affairs are dominated by Farmville.[10]

Prince Edward is usually considered as an agricultural county with tobacco and lumber being the most important cash products. In addition to these, corn, wheat and alfalfa are the primary forage and field crops while poultry, dairy and beef cattle and hogs are all raised commercially in Prince Edward County.[11] There is also one large commercial orchard in the county growing apples and peaches.[12]

However, the rural and agricultural character of the county tends to obscure the prominent role that retailing, general contracting, banking, industry, mining and tobacco marketing play in the life of the county. In fact, in 1960 about three out of every four persons employed in the county were working in the above categories and not in agriculture.[13]

The largest single industry in the county is a shoe factory, an absentee-owner enterprise with its home factories and offices in Lynchburg, Virginia. This Farmville factory employs about 350 workers. Other industry in the county includes wood-working and construction companies; a shook factory; an antique reproduction plant; a garment factory; and two tobacco-handling plants.[14] There is one mining opera-

---

[10]Concluded from an analysis of interviews, newspaper advertising, geographical facts of proximity, the yellow pages of telephone directories, shopping patterns of people in the area and counting the relative number of business establishments in the localities.

[11]Leaflet prepared by The Farmville Herald and verified by observations and interviews.

[12]Observations and interviews in the county.

[13]County and City Data Book, op. cit., p. 354.

[14]Leaflet, op. cit., and verified by interviews and the Farmville telephone directory.

tion which mines a stone product.[15] In 1960 only five of those industries had twenty or more employees.[16] Almost all of the business and industry in the county is conducted in Farmville.[17]

Three U.S. highways pass through the county. U.S. 460 makes an east-west line across the northern part; U.S. 15, on a north-south line, almost splits the county in two halves; and U.S. 360 cuts a southwestern-northeastern line across the southeastern section of the county. The county is also served by 62.67 miles of state-maintained primary road and 389.25 miles of secondary road, 185.92 miles of which are hard surfaced.[18]

The county in a limited fashion is served by the Norfolk and Western Railway on its service from Norfolk, Virginia, to Cincinnati, Ohio.[19] The Southern Railway also has rails which cut across the southeastern part of the county.[20] Farmville is on a Greyhound Bus Line and also has a small airport which has no regularly scheduled commercial flights.[21]

In traveling the county one sees many moderately priced homes less

---

[15] Prince Edward County Land Book—1962, in the office of the county clerk, p. 211.

[16] County and City Data Book, op. cit., p. 397.

[17] The Farmville Herald, February 8, 1963, p. 1. Also, observations and interviews in the county and local telephone directories.

[18] Map, Prince Edward County, Virginia, op. cit.

[19] Steck, op. cit., p. 27.

[20] Map, Prince Edward County, Virginia, op. cit.

[21] Steck, op. cit., p. 27.

than twenty years of age inhabited by whites. Many Negro families are seen living in what in post bellum days were the finest homes in existence. Now they are decaying, their paint has chipped off and they are gray from the weather. Many old abandoned houses are used as barns or chicken coops. Dozens upon dozens of crumbling sheds, houses and barns are seen everywhere in the county. Chimneys are seen standing alone, long after the rest of the building has fallen in ruins and decomposed. There are a few log cabins remaining, most of them in decadent condition. No family dwellings in usable condition were found unoccupied.[22]

The county's total population in the 1960 census was 14,121 people, 39.9 per cent of them non-white. Non-white in Prince Edward, however, means Negro as there are no other known non-white individuals in the county.[23] In 1950 the county had a total population of 15,398 and 44.6 per cent of them were non-white or Negro.[24]

Farmville in the 1960 census had 4,293 people while in 1950 it had had 4,375.[25]

We shall now turn to background data on the county's political organization. "Virginia counties act under powers delegated by the state. Their functions and powers are defined by provisions of the constitution and laws enacted by the General Assembly. By defining

---

[22]Observations made from some 500 miles traveled within the county on an estimated 60 per cent of all of the county's passable roads.

[23]County and City Data Book, op. cit., p. 392.

[24]County and City Data Book (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 1952), p. 410.

[25]County and City Data Book, op. cit., p. 609.

county authority widely or narrowly, the state can add to county functions or can itself assume the performance of county functions." These words from the text of Virginia's Government summarize the nature of the political county in the Commonwealth of Virginia.[26]

Prince Edward County, like its ninety-seven political cousins, enjoys some local autonomy and at the same time benefits from a large degree of fiscal paternity on the part of the General Assembly. The county's seven major functions include: (1) finance, (2) law enforcement, (3) record keeping, (4) public welfare, (5) operation of public schools, (6) selection of county farm and home demonstration agents, and (7) the maintenance of a county health department.[27] In a number of government services Prince Edward County cooperates with other counties and cities, the state, and in the case of public welfare and agriculture, with the United States government.[28]

One supervisor from each of the county's six magisterial districts is elected by district residents to four-year terms to the county board of supervisors, the county's legislative body. Six other officers are elected by the people at large in the county. They include: (1) commissioner of revenue, (2) county treasurer, (3) commonwealth attorney, (4) county clerk, (5) sheriff, and (6) justices of the peace. There are currently thirteen justices of the peace. The

---

[26] Virginia's Government (Richmond, Virginia: published by the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1961), p. 97.

[27] W. E. Hemphill, N. W. Schlegel, and S. E. Engelberg, Cavalier Commonwealth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 545-549.

[28] Ibid., p. 550.

terms for each of these six positions are four years except that of county clerk whose term is eight years.[29]

It is the county's responsibility to assess personal property and real estate for tax purposes. The commissioner of revenue performs this function. In addition, the county must collect those property taxes as well as state taxes. The county treasurer is covered by indemnity bond and handles these responsibilities as well as the management of county expenditures.[30]

The state circuit court judge selects the three-man school electoral board which in turn appoints six school board members, one from each magisterial district, for a term of four years each. The school board then hires a superintendent of schools from a list of eligible persons supplied by the state Department of Education.[31] The superintendent in Prince Edward is also the administrator of the Cumberland County school district.[32]

The welfare board is also appointed by the circuit court judge and then in turn appoints the county superintendent of public welfare as chief administrator.[33]

Also appointed by the circuit judge is a local trial justice or

---

[29] Ibid., p. 550.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., pp. 100-101.

[32] 'Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Governor and General Assembly of Virginia' (Richmond: Department of Purchases and Supply, Commonwealth of Virginia, 1961).

[33] Virginia's Government, op. cit., p. 101.

county judge who tries only criminal cases involving misdemeanors and county ordinances and sits as the judge of juvenile and domestic relations court.[34] Prince Edward County is situated in the Fifth Circuit Court District along with Buckingham, Cumberland, Appomattox and Charlotte counties.[35]

The county is represented in the United States House of Representatives by W. M. Abbitt and is designated a part of the Fourth Congressional District. Prince Edward is in the Fourth Virginia state Senatorial District along with Charlotte and Halifax counties and is represented by Dr. J. D. Hagood of Clover in the Senate of the General Assembly. The county's delegate to the House of Delegates is John M. Daniel of Charlotte Court House.[36] He represents the 22nd House of Delegates District made up of Prince Edward and Charlotte counties.[37]

The incorporated town of Farmville is governed by a town council, a mayor, and a town manager but is politically a part of the county in which it is located. Virginia cities meanwhile are independent of counties. However, as in the case of many Virginia towns, the Farmville town government powers and services are somewhat limited. Although the life of the Farmville resident is regulated by two local governments, that of the county and that of the town, the county of Prince Edward is

---

[34] Ibid., p. 100.

[35] Ibid., p. 84.

[36] "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Governor and General Assembly of Virginia," op. cit.

[37] Map, "Virginia House of Delegates Districts" (Division of Industrial Development and Planning, Commonwealth of Virginia).

by far the more influential and important political unit.[38]

Prince Edward County residents may and do view, with the proper antenna, television channels from Richmond, Lynchburg, and Roanoke. Of these seven stations covering all four national networks, the three Richmond channels are most frequently seen. Radio broadcasts can and are heard, with the proper equipment, from Richmond, Roanoke, Lynchburg, Blackstone, Crewe, and Farmville's own WFLO. WFLO appears to be the most popular station.[39] Its broadcasting equipment is located just north of Farmville.[40] The county has no FM radio service to speak of.[41]

Prince Edward County residents read the Richmond Times Dispatch, Virginia's largest newspaper, with an estimated 175,000 circulation; the Richmond News Leader, the state's largest evening newspaper, with an estimated 120,000 circulation; The Farmville Herald, the county's only newspaper with a circulation of 5,964;[42] the Roanoke Times; and the Lynchburn News. Only one respondent mentioned reading the New York Times occasionally. One other white respondent mentioned reading the Richmond Afro-American and the Charleston, South Carolina, News and Courier.[43]

---

[38]Virginia's Government, op. cit., pp. 107-109.

[39]Interviews among county residents.

[40]Observation.

[41]Interviews among county residents.

[42]From a letter dated January 22, 1963, written to the author from J. B. Wall, Sr., editor and publisher of The Herald.

[43]From interviews in the county and observations of those periodicals on sale in restaurants, hotels, motels, shops, drugstores and newsstands. Also, note was taken of the newspaper delivery boxes which are located adjacent to mail boxes in the rural areas.

The southern part of the county is also served by The Charlotte Gazette, a weekly, at Drakes Branch in Charlotte County. The Charlotte Gazette, although primarily an organ for Charlotte County, carries columns on news in Prince Edward communities such as Green Bay and Meherrin.

The Farmville Herald, published twice a week, obviously serves other areas besides Prince Edward County as evidenced by columns of news of interest to some forty-five communities in Southside, Virginia, which are all within a thirty mile radius of Farmville. Both The Farmville Herald and The Charlotte Gazette carry news of local interest; columns of fundamental protestantism editorals and columnists of the conservative and moderate white supremist stripes; syndicated columns and reprints written by T. Coleman Andrews, W. D. Workman, Roger W. Babson; U.S. Senator from North Carolina, Sam J. Ervin, Jr.; State Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr.; Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott and others. Advertising by local commercial, industrial, retail and wholesale enterprises as well as advertisements from establishments as far away as Richmond (63 miles) are seen on the pages of The Herald.[44]

Many of the national weekly news magazines are available in Farmville for Prince Edward County readers but apparently the most popular is US News and World Report as it was most frequently mentioned by whites who were interviewed.

The only indication of the number of telephones in the county is 5,231 reported by the telephone company in the Farmville area. However, this includes an unknown number outside the county and excludes the

---

[44] From a content analysis of issues of The Charlotte Gazette and The Farmville Herald.

southern parts of the county.[45]

There are an estimated forty-two churches in Prince Edward County. Twenty four of them appear to be white churches while eighteen are Negro.[46] No accurate count was recorded regarding the distribution of denominations but road observations indicated that most rural (outside of Farmville) churches were Baptist and most of the remainder in the rural areas were Methodist. In addition, one Jehovah's Witnesses Kingdom Hall and one Seventh-Day Adventist church were observed in the rural sections. In the Farmville area there are one or more Baptist, Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopal churches. There is also a Catholic Mission which has a "circuit rider" priest who serves other similar missions elsewhere in the region.[47]

---

[45] The Farmville Herald, January 25, 1963, p. 1.

[46] Map, Prince Edward County, Virginia, op. cit.

[47] Observations and interviews in the county and the Farmville telephone directory.

CHAPTER II

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL ISSUE

We turn now to the questions, Why were schools closed and how did closing come about? Why the county's public school system failed to be reopened in September of 1959 is really answered by uncovering the social and economic determinants beginning with the county's first settlement in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries[1] and tracing these antecedents to the point where the school dispute first became dramatically manifest in 1951.[2] However, this task is much too complex and lengthy for such a paper as this; therefore, we shall begin our observations at a point in time in which laws, mores and economic conditions had already evolved to where Prince Edward County was a small, predominately rural, political unit with a rigid two-caste social system compounded by a complicated class hierarchy in the white caste. The Negro caste with less economic range had much less disparity between its classes.[3]

By the beginning of the nineteen-fifties some Negroes in the

---

[1] W. E. Hemphill, N. W. Schlegel, and S. E. Engelberg, Cavalier Commonwealth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 90-95.

[2] John C. Stack, "The Prince Edward County Virginia Story" (Farmville: The Farmville Herald, 1961), p. 5.

[3] Summary of observations, interviews and all secondary data.

county were confident enough to openly dispute the caste order. Dissatisfaction with separate and unequal schools was only one facet of this dispute but it was the public school issue which was to become the battleground for the Negro's assault on the caste system.[4]

The Prince Edward County school issue, which was to become one of the cases involved in the monumental May 17, 1954, U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decision, originated on April 29, 1951. On that spring morning after consulting with the minister of Farmville's Negro First Baptist Church, 450 Negro students, at what was then R. R. Moton High School, walked out on a strike in protest against the conditions in the county's Negro schools. It is alledged that on the very day of this strike the students phoned NAACP attorneys in Richmond with the apparent intention of pursuing legal action.

The R. R. Moton High School's Parent-Teachers Association met two days after the strike and endorsed the action of the strikers. Also, shortly after the strike Oliver W. Hill, chief of the legal staff of the Virginia Conference, NAACP, and a partner in Hill, Martin and Robinson, a Richmond law firm, announced that a petition requesting desegregation of the schools would be submitted to the county Board of Supervisors. The Supervisors promptly rejected the petition.[5] The Negro attorneys then filed on May 23, 1951, a similar petition with the United States District Court for Eastern Virginia.[6]

---

[4]Interviews in the county.

[5]Stock, op. cit., pp. 5-7, 18-19.

[6]Statistical Summary (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962), p. 50.

It was about this time when Governor John S. Battle and the entire state first became aroused by a determination to maintain segregated schools.[7] However, there was little real awareness that the patterns of over three centuries would ever break down because segregation had been an intrinsic part of Virginia society since Negroes first set foot on her shores. It is believed that Negro slaves first arrived in the Virginia colony in 1619[8] and separation of the races had been the law and practice ever since that time throughout Virginia.[9] Few whites believed that things could ever be significantly different from the "Old Dominion's" past.[10]

Nevertheless, in August 1951, Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond filed with the Federal District court a notice of intervention and thus added the strength of the state to the county's defense.[11]

Meanwhile the county school board began proceedings to acquire a fifteen acre site for a new Negro high school in an attempt to equalize Negro schools with those of the whites, thereby hoping to affect the necessary support for their "separate but equal" argument in the

---

[7]Steck, op. cit., p. 7.

[8]Hemphill, et al., op. cit., p. 72.

[9]Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955, a reprint of the original publication in 1787), p. 138; Morris Talpalar, The Sociology of Colonial Virginia (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960), pp. 324-359; and June Purcell Guild, Black Laws of Virginia (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1936), pp. 21-220.

[10]Observations and interviews in the county.

[11]Steck, op. cit., p. 19.

courts.[12]

In 1951, the year of the student strike, there were fifteen Negro schools in the county for an estimated Negro student population of 2,000. The total value of these properties was around $329,000. All but one of these schools were of wood construction, had no toilet facilities except outdoor privies and had wood, coal, or kerosene stoves. At the same time, whites had seven schools for an estimated 1,400 student population with a total property value of about $1,200,000. Each of these seven schools were of sound brick construction, had indoor flush-toilets, lavatories, and steam or hot water heat. Also, in 1951 the per capita property value for white students was an estimated $317 while for each Negro student it was $194. In addition, whites had an estimated 0.0232 per cent of an acre of school property for each child while each Negro child had 0.0167 per cent of an acre.[13]

On May 7, 1952, the U.S. District Court, which had been petitioned a year before sustained segregation but ordered equalization of facilities. The Negroes appealed this decision all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.[14]

In June of 1952 the county Board of Supervisors began to make financial provisions for the anticipated construction of the new Negro high school.[15] The next year, two years after the student strike and

---

[12] Ibid., p. 7.

[13] "School Plant Inventory of Prince Edward County," submitted July 23, 1952, to the State Department of Education by Virginia F. Harper, Clerk of the county School Board.

[14] Steck, op. cit., p. 7.

[15] Ibid.

the beginning of court proceedings, the county government built a $948,162 high school[16] and named it for Robert R. Moton, a famous native of Prince Edward County who succeeded Booker T. Washington as president of Tuskegee Institute.[17] R. R. Moton High School was presumably completed during 1953. When students entered for the first time is an illusive fact but it would be reasonable to assume that it was opened for use during the 1953-54 session.

Thus, Moton High School became the third brick structure among fifteen schools (one small structure was abandoned during 1953) for Negroes with steam or hot water heat and water under pressure. The only other buildings for Negroes which were brick, had steam or hot water heat and water under pressure were two of the three structures now known as Mary E. Branch Elementary School. One of these two Branch School buildings had been used before 1953 as the high school for Negroes. The remaining thirteen schools were of wood or clapboard construction or with tar paper on the outside. They had one or more outdoor privies, wood stoves and were without water under pressure. These fifteen schools were in use by Negroes to the day of school closing in June of 1959.[18]

It has been suggested that although R. R. Moton High School is the most highly valued piece of public school property in the county, that it has inferior furnishings and equipment. Two Negro respondents

---

[16]"School Plant Inventory of Prince Edward County," op. cit.

[17]Kemphill et al., op. cit., p. 439.

[18]"School Plant Inventory of Prince Edward County," op. cit. The author further verified these conditions by a visit to and photograph of every public school in Prince Edward County.

reported that when Moton High School was in operation, it did not have enough desks or equipment to provide for the some 650 Negro high school students in the county. They also said that there was only one microscope for all of the biology students.[19]

It should be pointed out here that property valuation and conditions only explicate part of the situation in which Prince Edward County youngsters were educated before school closing. However, an understanding of what kind of effort that a local and state government is making to educate its children is at least suggested by the buildings and equipment it provides those youngsters. In addition, if it is apparent that one group has better physical plants and equipment than another, one can reasonably suspect that the former group is treated preferably also in the procurement of teachers; the supply of textbooks, lunches, transportation; and in the indulgence of extra-curricular activities.

Hearings in the U.S. Supreme Court on the Prince Edward case as well as the four other now famous appeals from Kansas, Delaware, South Carolina and the District of Columbia were begun in December, 1952, and on May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the court's decision, declaring segregation unconstitutional.[20] The state Board of Education of Virginia promptly advised all school boards to maintain the customary separation of races during the coming 1954-55 session.

Within two months of the decision the county Board of Supervisors

---

[19]Interviews with two Negro residents of the county.

[20]James Jackson Kilpatrick, The Southern Case for School Segregation (Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1962), p. 126.

passed a resolution asserting their opposition to desegregation, their view that desegregation was impossible in Virginia, that they would resist compliance with all of their power, that the state should take immediate steps to preserve segregation, and finally ordering copies of their resolution to be sent to all top state officials.[21]

Meanwhile during the late summer of 1954 the governor had appointed the thirty-two-man Gray Commission to study solutions for the continued maintenance of separate schools. The Commission was named for its chairman, state Senator Garland Gray from Waverly, an avowed segregationist and Byrd machine politician.[22]

In April, 1955, during a hearing before the county Board of Supervisors on the annual budget for 1955-56, a white county delegation insisted that they would not support tax levies which financed an "integrated system of public schools." The budget under consideration was for $835,000, of which $685,940 (state and local funds) was provided for schools. This was the first time that it was suggested that the white citizenry would not support the school system if it became desegregated. However, the Supervisors made no decision on the budget pending the outcome of the U.S. Supreme Court's final decree. That mandate came on May 31, 1955.[23]

Back in the county just a few hours after hearing the May 31 order, the Supervisors met and accepted a county budget which included

---

[21]Steck, op. cit., p. 2.

[22]Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 7-8.

[23]Steck, op. cit., p. 3.

only the legal minimum of $150,000 for school maintenance and debt amortization. The chairman concluded the evening's work by declaring his beliefs in the interpretation by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 upholding the separate but equal doctrine, states rights, the workability of separate schools, the fact that the county has provided Negroes with a high school second to none in the county, and the propriety of a continued effort to thwart the court order.[24]

By mobilizing the Parent-Teachers Associations of the white schools, a meeting was called for and conducted in Farmville on the campus of Longwood College, a state women's college, to seek solutions relative to maintaining white teachers. Fifteen-hundred whites left the meeting having, in effect, formed the Prince Edward School Corporation.[25]

In July, 1955, the Supreme Court remanded the Prince Edward case to a special three-judge federal court which ruled that the county should begin "adjustments and rearrangement" required for desegregation but failed to order mixing for the 1955-56 session.[26] The NAACP reacted by filing a motion for an order that the county be desegregated by September 1, 1956. Virginia's Attorney General Almond had meanwhile ruled that localities would be permitted under Virginia law to appropriate funds sufficient only to operate schools for thirty days at a time. The county Supervisors, with this legal assurance and encourage-

---

[24] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[25] Ibid., p. 10.

[26] Statistical Summary, op. cit., p. 50.

ment by counsel for the county School Board and the Prince Edward Educational Corporation, adopted this thirty-day plan for the 1955-56 session known as "heretofore" operation.[27]

In November, 1955, Governor Thomas B. Stanley, who had succeeded John S. Battle in January, 1954, called a special session of the Virginia General Assembly to act on the Gray Commission study proposals. One of the proposals by the Commission, that of providing public funds for private schools, was forbidden by section 141 of the Virginia Constitution. So a statewide referendum was called and on January 9, 1956, Virginia voters approved two to one a constitutional convention to ammend the constitution to make tuition grants possible.[28] The county vote was 2,835 for and 350 against.[29]

In early March, 1956, the convention, authorized by the referendum, ammended section 141 allowing public funds to go to private, nonsectarian schools.[30] This opened the dam and school legislation poured through the General Assembly and across the desk of the governor.[31] The General Assembly had already adopted a resolution on February 1, 1956, "Interposing the sovereignty of Virginia against encroachment upon the reserved powers of this state." This vote had been carried thirty-six to two in the state Senate and ninety to five

---

[27]Steck, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[28]W. E. Hemphill, et al., op. cit., p. 477.

[29]Steck, op. cit., p. 11.

[30]W. E. Hemphill, et al., op. cit., p. 477.

[31]Statistical Summary, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

in the House of Delegates. Thus, February 1, 1956, could be considered the formal birth of "Massive Resistance" as this recalcitrant policy came to be known.[32] The next step taken by the state was in a special session in August and September of 1956, when the legislature adopted laws requiring school closure and the termination of state funds to any locality where desegregation occurred.[33]

The county, too, was firming up its resistance, for on a May 3, 1956, meeting of the county Board of Supervisors, after an invocation by Reverend J. A. Vache of the Farmville Episcopal Church, Mr. T. W. Brook, Jr. read a petition of intent signed by 4,184 persons[34] before approximately 250 citizens attending. The petition read, "We, the undersigned citizens of Prince Edward County, Virginia, hereby affirm our conviction that the separation of the races in the public schools of this county is absolutely necessary and to affirm that we prefer to abandon public schools and educate our children in some other way if that be necessary to preserve separation of the races in this county. We pledge our support of the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County in their firm maintenance of this policy." This was followed by a reading of a "Declaration" which "was approved by a large group of citizens." It included a lengthy argument supporting the necessity of

---

[32]"The Doctrine of Interposition" (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, Division of Purchase and Printing, 1957), Senate Document Number 21.

[33]Statistical Summary, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

[34]The author saw the signed petitions stacked in a pile about one and one half inches high on a file cabinet in the office of the County Clerk in the Court House. The actual number was not verified.

the separation of the races, a treatise on the illegality of the 1954-55 Supreme Court decisions and an appeal to the state to provide funds for the county thereby giving effect to the state "interposition Resolution" of February 1, 1956. Mr. J. W. Dunnington moved for the adoption of an affirmation of the "Declaration" by the citizens present. It was carried by unanimous vote. The Supervisors then passed five resolutions implementing the citizens' wishes.[35] Later that same month on May 31, 1956, the Supervisors again approved a "heretofore" plan of school operation for the 1956-57 session.[36]

On July 17, 1956, the three-judge Federal District court again convened and dissolved itself leaving only Judge Sterling Hutcheson to continue the case.[37] This procedure and further hearings stalled any more orders until January, 1957, when Judge Hutcheson ruled that the county must have more time to formulate plans for desegregation. At the time of this ruling he threw out two motions. He refused to set the deadline for desegregation requested by the plaintiffs on the grounds that public opinion in the county was unfavorable to desegregation and that there was a possibility that schools would be closed. Judge Hutcheson, also, denied a motion by the defendents to dismiss the case. The NAACP appealed this decision to the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals where in November, 1957, Judge Hutcheson was overruled and again

---

[35] Supervisors Record, No. 2, minutes of the meeting of the county Board of Supervisors on May 3, 1956.

[36] Stock, op. cit., p. 14.

[37] Race Relations Law Reporter, I (1956), 1055.

desegregation "without further delay" was ordered.[38] Hutcheson's order had, however, allowed the county to again adopt "heretofore" school operation for the 1957-58 session.[39]

Meanwhile in May of 1957, the state House Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities had gone into action in the county. They subpoened forty-three witnesses of which they questioned thirty-six.[40] Delegate James M. Thomson of Alexandria, the brother-in-law of U.S. Senator Harry Byrd and an ardent racist,[41] was chairman of the committee. He concluded at the end of the hearings that some Negro plaintiffs in the Prince Edward suit did not consider themselves even a part of litigation. In this statement Delegate Thomson was alluding to the illegality under Virginia law at that time of the NAACP's litigious actions. The Joint House-Senate Committee on offenses against the Administration of Justice, which functions in Virginia in a similar manner to the U.S. House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee, then charged the NAACP in November, 1957, with gross and illegal promotion and support of five Virginia desegregation cases. They based their legal position on the 1956 so-called "Anti-NAACP" laws and the findings of Delegate Thomson's committee.[42]

The controversary involving state "Anti-NAACP" laws passed by the

---

[38] Statistical Summary, op. cit., p. 50.

[39] Steck, op. cit., p. 15.

[40] Steck, op. cit., p. 14.

[41] Muse, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

[42] Steck, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

General Assembly in 1956 was to continue for some time. One of these laws (chapter 31) required that the NAACP and similar organizations supply the State Corporation Commission with membership and contributor lists. A second (chapter 35) dealt with the solicitation of court suits. It was primarily aimed at blocking desegregation litigation. A third (chapter 32) contained registration requirements for advocates of racial integration or segregation. The constitutionality of these statutes was argued in the state courts and finally in the U.S. Supreme Court which on January 14, 1963, declared them unconstitutional.[43]

In November, 1957, counsel for the county School Board won a stay by Chief Judge Parker of the Federal Circuit Court, pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court in March, 1958, refused to review the Appeal Court's order and the case returned to the chambers of Judge Hutcheson. On August 4, 1958, he ruled a seven-year delay on desegregation until 1965, in order to avert "disorder" and "possible bloodshed." The NAACP appealed this decision.[44]

On January 19, 1959, the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals declared in a five to two opinion that both closing schools and cutting off state funds to prevent racial integration in public schools violated the Virginia constitution since tuition grants for private schooling as an alternative to integration were tied to these provisions. Therefore tuition grants as provided for in the 1956 legislation became unconsti-

---

[43] Richmond News Leader, August 25, 1961, p. 10; Richmond Times Dispatch, December 29, 1962, p. 1; and Statistical Summary, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

[44] Steck, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

tutional. This decision accompanied by various federal court orders thus began to bring down the curtain on any continued success for the "Massive Resistance" statutes.[45]

However, the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals did not stop the General Assembly from writing and passing new laws providing for tuition and transportation grants, tax write-offs, pupil assignment and regulation and many other statutes designed to impede desegregation. Beginning in 1959, and up to this writing, more than a dozen of such laws have become a part of the Code of Virginia.[46]

In May, 1959, Judge Hutcheson's "seven-year delay" decision was upset when after an appeal by the NAACP the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered desegregation in the high schools for September, 1959, and also that the county begin planning the same in elementary schools.[47] Upon hearing this, Blanton D. Hanbury, president of the Prince Edward School Foundation, announced a full-scale preparation for the operation of private schools beginning in September, 1959. A fund drive was initiated to raise $200,000 for private school operation.[48] At the same time, the county School Board appealed the decision of the Appellate Court to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused again on October 12, 1959, to hear the case.[49]

---

[45] Muse, op. cit., pp. 122-125.

[46] Statistical Summary, op. cit., p. 53.

[47] Ibid., p. 50.

[48] Stack, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[49] Statistical Summary, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

On June 3, 1959, the supervisors rejected a school board budget for 1959-60 of $780,600 as well as an alternative budget of $489,585 to finance tuition grants. Instead they approved a school-less $210,654 budget for the coming year.[50]

A public hearing before the supervisors was heard on June 23, 1959, and testimony opposing school closing was heard from Dr. C. G. G. Moss, Mrs. Annie V. Putney, M. Henry Bittinger and Mrs. Grace Putney. No changes in the county policy resulted, however.[51]

When the fall of 1959 arrived, all public school doors remained closed. On September 10 the Prince Edward School Foundation, before a national radio and television audience, conducted a formal opening ceremony for their all-white, private Prince Edward Academy. Classes began on September 14.[52]

Prince Edward County, of course, was not the first nor the only school system in Virginia to lock its doors. Norfolk, Front Royal and Charlottesville public schools were closed by Governor Almond under Virginia's "Massive Resistance" laws in September of 1958. None of these schools, however, remained officially closed more than five months.[53]

In December, 1959, white leaders of Prince Edward County

---

[50] Supervisors Record, No. 9, minutes of the meeting of the county Board of Supervisors on May 3, 1956.

[51] Ibid., minutes of the meeting of the county Board of Supervisors on May 23, 1956.

[52] Muse, op. cit., pp. 150-151.

[53] Ibid., pp. 62-148.

chartered Southside Schools, Inc. and sent out letters inviting Negro parents to enroll their children in this all-Negro, private school system at a $240 annual tuition fee. Only one application was returned to the corporation. Whites alledged that Oliver Hill and Roy Wilkins of the New York office of the NAACP blocked Negro use of the all- white-governed corporation. There were seventeen white Prince Edward County leaders on the Board of Southside Schools, Inc. Nine of the seventeen were also on the Board of the white Prince Edward School Foundation.[54]

In April, 1960, it was reported by Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman that the county School Board resigned leaving a fourteen page statement asserting the importance of public education and the doubt whether private schooling could in the future to depended upon to most consistently the county's educational needs.[55]

Judge Oren E. Lewis by this time had succeeded Judge Hutcheson on the U.S. Fourth District bench. In September of 1960 the NAACP filed a motion with Judge Lewis requesting that the county Supervisors, the state Board of Education, and the state Superintendent of Education be added as defendants for their failure to comply with section 129 of the Virginia Constitution. Then again in January, 1961, the NAACP added another request of the court to the effect that tuition grants and tax write-offs be restrained. On June 24, 1961, the Attorney General of the U.S. was denied a request to enter the case as a co-plaintiff by Judge Lewis because, the judge claimed, it would unduly

---

[54] Congressional Record, From a speech in the U.S. Senate by Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia on May 17, 1961.

[55] Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, "Future of Private Schools," New South, XVI, No. 4 (April 1961), pp. 4-5.

delay the case.[55]

On August 23, 1961, Federal Judge Oren R. Lewis decreed that public funds—tuition grants and tax credits—could not be used to support private, segregated education so long as public schools remain closed because freedom of choice between public and private schools was breached. He further stated that whether or not opening of schools is compulsory was a question for the state courts.[57]

In September, 1961, a new petition was filed by Negro plaintiffs in the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals asking for a writ of mandamus to compel the county Board of Supervisors to appropriate funds for public schools for 1961-62. The court ruled on March 5, 1962, that the county was not required by the state constitution to operate schools.

In the federal court, however, Judge Lewis declared on July 26, 1962, that public schools in Prince Edward could not be closed to avoid desegregation while schools elsewhere in Virginia remained open.

On August 31, 1962, the county School Board and the state Board of Education asked the Richmond Circuit Court to determine whether the state must operate schools in absence of county operation.

Later, on October 11 in the same year, Judge Lewis issued a formal decree implementing his July 26 opinion but postponed enforcement pending an appeal. The counsel for the county had appealed to the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.[58] Chief Judge Simon E. Sobeloff of the Court of Appeals granted on December 28, 1962, for the first

---

[55] Statistical Summary, op. cit., p. 51.

[57] Richmond Times Dispatch, August 25, 1961, p. 6.

[58] Statistical Summary, op. cit., p. 51.

time in the history of the Prince Edward case, permission to the U.S. Department of Justice to file a brief as a "friend of the court" and argue during hearings scheduled to begin in January, 1963.[59] As of February 19, 1963, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals had the case "under advisement."[60]

On March 27, 1963, Judge John Wingo Knowles of the Richmond Circuit Court, a state appellate court, issued a decision asserting that public school closing and the use of tuition grants in Prince Edward were legal under the existing Constitution and Statutes of Virginia. However, in the same opinion, he limited the use of the county's "constitutional provision" to elementary schools.[61] The "constitutional provision," some $39,000 each year, is provided for by section 135 of the state constitution and comes from revenues collected by the state.[62] Heretofore, the county had used this money for maintenance and debts for both elementary and high schools.[63]

Judge Knowles' decision was, at the time of this writing, expected to be appealed to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals by the county in order to get the highest court in the state to make a ruling on the question of whether or not keeping public schools open is com-

---

[59] Richmond Times Dispatch, January 3, 1963, pp. 1,6.

[60] The Farmville Herald, February 19, 1963, pp. 1-2.

[61] The Farmville Herald, March 29, 1963, p. 1.

[62] Virginia Constitution. Article IX, Section 135.

[63] Interview with a Finance Officer at the Division of Administration and Finance, State Department of Education, Richmond.

pulsory under current Virginia law.[64] The Prince Edward School Foundation announced in April of 1963 that Foundation classes would definitely be conducted during the 1963-64 school year regardless of the status of public schools.[65] In April of 1963, as litigation came to the conclusion of its twelfth year, over twenty major decisions have been handed down by federal and state courts in connection with the questions involved in the Prince Edward case.

---

[64] Richmond Times Dispatch, March 29, 1963, p. 1,6.

[65] The Farmville Herald, April 2, 1963, p. 1.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION FOR WHITE PUPILS

With public schools closed, the question arises—What did parents do to educate their children? The white people, holding in their control the balance of economic power in Prince Edward County, resorted, as has been mentioned, to private schooling.

Most of the Prince Edward County white people had never intended to support in any way desegregated schools, much less allow their children to attend such schools. The maintenance of segregated schools by the county until 1954 is the first evidence of this resolve. What has transpired since 1954 is certainly even a stronger indication of the determination among whites to maintain segregation. The county Board of Supervisors made this intention known early. They established the county's first "bedrock" of resistance within two months after the 1954 Supreme Court decision when they declared "unalterable opposition to integrated schooling."[1] But the story of the development of white private schools began, for the most part, in June of 1955. Four days after the May 31, 1955, order implementing the 1954 desegregation decree, 1,500 whites attended a meeting at Jarman Hall at Longwood College to determine what plans would be initiated.[2] What resulted

---

[1] John C. Steck, "The Prince Edward County Virginia Story" (Farmville: The Farmville Herald, 1961), p. 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

was the establishment of the Prince Edward Educational Corporation whose primary aim was to guarantee salaries for all of the county's sixty-three white teachers during the coming 1955-56 school year.[3] The status of all teachers had been made precarious four days before this mass meeting by the Board of Supervisors who, after receiving encouragement from most of the county's white people, adopted "heretofore" operation of public schools. "Heretofore" schools meant that teachers could not be assured that their jobs would continue for more than a month at a time.[4] Thus, the Educational Corporation initiated a drive to raise $212,000 to insure salaries for white teachers for the 1955-56 school session.[5]

All three school years from September, 1955, through June, 1958, saw "heretofore" operation of public schools in the county.[6] During each of these years federal judges had put off desegregation. But by May of 1959 the intention of the desegregation order was made indubitably clear by the ruling of the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.[7] Therefore, the whites, faced with an order to desegregate public schools the coming fall, swung into action. They secured a new charter from the state Corporation Commission, changed their organization's name to the Prince Edward School Foundation and adopted the name

---

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 9.

[5] Ibid., p. 10.

[6] Ibid., pp. 11, 14-15.

[7] See Chapter II, p. 28 in this paper for further details.

"Prince Edward Academy" as the official name for the upper school.[8]

These changes and subsequent development of the private schools were led by a lumber businessman who became the president of the new School Foundation. He had also been the president of the now defunct Educational Corporation. A building contractor became the vice president[9] and a retired oil company executive was appointed school administrator.[10] In addition, a board of directors of thirty-three people, twenty-eight men and five women, were selected.[11]

During the summer of 1959, extensive work was done to prepare for the opening of private schools. By August 15 the Foundation had secured permission from owners to use fifteen buildings for private school purposes. The "State" Theater, a commercial movie house in Farmville, was lined up for rental as an auditorium for the Prince Edward Academy upper school assemblies. Among the contributors of classroom space were five churches (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Christian and Episcopal), the women's club, the Moose organization and three individuals. The first anticipated budget for the 1959-60 year was $305,000 for 1,446 pupils who were to enter in September 1959. Of the 1,446 pupils, 478 went to two "upper" schools (grades 8-12) while 968 children attended six "lower" schools (grades 1-7).[12]

---

[8]Steck, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[9]Interviews with this building contractor and others in the county.

[10]Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 150.

[11]Official stationery of the Prince Edward School Foundation.

[12]Steck, op. cit., pp. 28-31.

During the 1959-60 school year about $300,000 was raised by county white citizens to contribute to the operation of Foundation schools.[13] The Foundation schools received their first certificates of accreditation on January 28, 1960, from the State Department of Education.[14]

In order to avoid the task of providing lunches for pupils, the school day began at 8:30 a.m. and ended at 1:30 p.m. Transportation of pupils was handled during 1959-60 by a private organization, purportedly unassociated with the Foundation, which went by the name of Patron's, Inc. and operated seventeen school buses.[15]

The School Foundation did not charge tuition during its first year of existence,[16] nor did it request state tuition grants because it was felt by the county's white leaders that receiving grants under the 1956 grant-in-aid law might jeopardize their legal position since there was some question about the constitutionality of what later was to be termed "old tuition grants."[17]

As of August 6, 1959, the United States Internal Revenue Service exempted the Foundation from Federal income tax and allowed contributions to it to be deductible in accordance with Section 170 of the 1954

---

[13] Richmond Times Dispatch, August 25, 1961, p. 1.

[14] Steck, op. cit., p. 30.

[15] Steck, op. cit., p. 31.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Letter dated February 17, 1963, to this author from William D. Wall, General Manager of The Farmville Herald who along with John C. Steck and J. B. Wall, Sr. have recorded much of the history of the issue.

U.S. Code.[18]

During the 1960-61 school year, the Prince Edward School Foundation found itself on sound financial ground. The Virginia General Assembly had enacted new laws in 1959 which enabled a parent of any child who was enrolled in any private, non-sectarian school to collect from the state an annual grant of $150 for each high school student and $125 for each elementary student. To match state funds the county Board of Supervisors adopted measures on July 18, 1960, which allowed parents of students in private, non-sectarian schools in Prince Edward County to receive for each of their children a $100 grant-in-aid[19] and twenty five per cent maximum tax write-off on that parent's total county real estate and personal property assessments.[20]

This grant-in-aid legislation as well as other monies for transportation provided parents of pupils attending Foundation schools with what was believed to be the full cost of private education. All grants, both state and local, were paid directly to the parents but were immediately turned over by parents to the School Foundation.[21] Thus, the Prince Edward School Foundation netted through payments or tax credits to parents: (1) an estimated $130,000 in local tuition grants;[22] (2) approximately $132,000 from state general tax funds in the form of tui-

---

[18]Stock, op. cit., p. 29.

[19]Richmond Times Dispatch, op. cit., p. 1.

[20]Ibid., p. 6.

[21]Interview with the acting administrator of the Prince Edward School Foundation.

[22]Richmond Times Dispatch, op. cit., p. 1.

tion grants;[23] (3) $2[illegible],000 received from about 550 families in local transportation grants;[24] and (4) approximately $55,000 donated to the Foundation by residents of Prince Edward and credited by the county treasurer "as payments on account of county tax bills."[25]

Foundation officials testified in August of 1961 that they received $332,144 in tuition during the 1960-61 school year for 1,327 students paying $240 for the lower school and $265 for the upper school.[26] During that same school year, the Prince Edward School Foundation was reported to have received $200,000 in contributions which were credited to its building fund, library fund and operating fund.[27] Throughout the 1960-61 session only five Prince Edward County Negro children were reported to have received state and county tuition grants for attending public schools elsewhere in Virginia.[28]

Generous state and local grant-in-aid programs had permitted smooth financial sailing for the patrons of the School Foundation during 1960-61. This, however, was short lived, for on August 24, 1961, U.S. District Judge Oren R. Lewis declared that both local and state tuition grants and tax credits were illegal as long as schools were closed and parents and students failed to have a choice between public and private

---

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 6.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

schools.[29] Thus, the Foundation is believed to have received no public monies during the 1961-62 school year.

The School Foundation persisted, however. The cost of operation for the 1961-62 school session was $363,513.57. Of this amount $192,939.17 came from patrons in tuition fees while the remainder came from other sources.[30] For this school session, a total of 1,325 pupils, there were 815 in six lower schools and 511 in the one upper school. There were twenty-eight upper school teachers and thirty-seven in the lower school, a total of sixty-five teachers. Their average teaching experience was 17.26 years. Eleven of these teachers had masters degrees, forty-three had bachelors and the remaining eleven had two or more years of college work. The average class size was about twenty-two pupils.[31] The new Prince Edward Academy was opened in Farmville during the 1961-62 session for white high school students from the entire county.[32]

For the 1962-63 school year, the board of directors of the School Foundation adopted a budget of $355,000. The tuition fee again was $240 for lower school students and $265 for the upper school. There were sixty-two teachers as of October 12, 1962.[33] Total enrollment as of January 11, 1963, was 1,256 pupils, 480 in the upper school and 778 in

---

[29]Richmond News Leader, August 25, 1961, p. 13.

[30]Southern School News, November, 1962, p. 4.

[31]"Memorandum—Prince Edward School Foundation—1961-62 School Session," signed by the administrator.

[32]Richmond News Leader, op. cit., p. 1.

[33]Southern School News, op. cit.

the six lower schools which are located in each of the six magisterial districts.[34]

Again for the second consecutive school year, the Foundation was without tax funds for their all-white school system. So on September 19, 1962, they launched a fund-raising drive and set a goal of $130,000. As of January 10, 1963, the campaign had raised $120,634.42 in donations and pledges. Also, for the 1962-63 school year, 562 families had pledged or paid $212,376 in tuition fees.[35]

The Foundation schools have a curriculum similar to most public schools in Virginia[36] and these curriculums have been accredited by the state Department of Education each of the four years that the Foundation has been in existence.[37]

The Foundation reports that the Prince Edward Academy, the upper school at Farmville, has a library with 9,000 volumes, "numerous pamphlets, twenty current magazines and several daily and community newspapers."[38]

The Academy also has after-school, extra-curricular activities available to students. Included are student government, a school paper, cheer leaders, a school annual, class organizations and an athletic pro-

---

[34]Interview with the acting administrator of the Prince Edward School Foundation.

[35]The Farmville Herald, January 11, 1963, p. 1.

[36]Interview with the acting administrator of the Prince Edward School Foundation.

[37]The Farmville Herald, March 29, 1963, p. 1.

[38]Ibid., April 2, 1963, p. 1.

gram with football, baseball, golf for boys, and basketball for both girls and boys.[39] The sports teams compete with public school teams in the Southside area but are not very successful. The Prince Edward Academy "Wolverines," as the boys varsity basketball team is known, has won only one game and lost ten as of February 22, 1963. They use the Farmville National Guard Armory for their games.[40]

Despite the claim by some proponents of private schools that the Foundation receives no tax money, several individuals who have children in the Foundation school system are known to have established residence in neighboring counties in order to qualify for state tuition and transportation grants.[41]

Although the Foundation administrator reports that all of the county's white children are in school with the exception of a few drop-outs,[42] there appears to be a number of families who have difficulty in paying the cost of private education, for 378 families received partial scholarships and sixteen families were awarded full scholarships during the 1962-63 school year.[43] There were also reports from respondents telling of the experience of an army man who lived in the county but whose duty station was in the Washington, D.C. area. His wife worked

---

[39]"Memorandum--Prince Edward School Foundation" op. cit.

[40]From an analysis of sports pages of The Farmville Herald.

[41]Interviews with county residents and observers who requested not to be identified in any way.

[42]Interview with acting administrator of the Prince Edward School Foundation.

[43]The Farmville Herald, January 11, 1963, p. 1.

at the shoe factory in Farmville and they had three children. Accord ing to the reports, the children were put out of Prince Edward Academ in the fall of 1962 because of a failure to pay tuition fees. The soldier then attempted to publicize his plight by approaching the edi of The Farmville Herald. His plea was reportedly turned down. His story was finally printed in a Lynchburg newspaper.[44]

There were in early 1963 several reports that the Prince Edwar School Foundation was near bankruptcy and that two teachers had not b paid their salaries for at least two consecutive months.[45]

Regardless of the accuracy or debate over the details in the various reports on the conditions of the Prince Edward School Founda- tion, it can easily be demonstrated that the white youngsters use fac ilties, with the exception of the new Prince Edward Academy High Schoo unquestionably inferior to the facilities they used when public schoo were operating.[46]

---

[44] Interviews with county residents.

[45] Ibid. and observers who requested not to be identified in an way.

[46] From photographs and visits to private and public schools.

CHAPTER IV

THE FATE OF THE NEGROES

Now that we have seen what the whites did to educate their children in absence of public schools, we turn to the efforts of the Negro county dwellers and others to provide Negro youngsters with some kind of instruction.

Negro parents, of course, had no access to county government; that is, they held no influence at all which would compel the local or state governments to enact legislative solutions in their interest. Negro parents were left stranded, unable even to send their children back to inferior schools as has been the alternative in other thwarted desegregation cases.[1]

Many Negroes felt at first that the case would be resolved in a short time in the traditional "token" fashion which has been the general pattern throughout the South. Many, including some whites, felt that this was a temporary sacrifice which would culminate in a year at the most. After the first year came and passed, most people again thought that by September public school doors would surely be open. Almost all observers underestimated the complexity of the problem in Prince Edward and so everyone, from Capitol Hill in Richmond to the most remote back road in the county, failed to see what was in store

---

[1] Observations from many years of living in the South.

for Prince Edward County.[2] Southside, Virginia, to everyone's rude awakening, was the "Deep South" saying "Never," to borrow a phrase from John Bartlow Martin.[3]

Some months after the public schools failed to reopen in September of 1959, Negroes organized the Prince Edward County Christian Association (PECCA) to operate "training centers" for the unschooled Negro children.[4] The "centers" were not attempts at private education for the Negro children for it was hoped that their existence would not affect the legal position in the court suit which held that Negroes were receiving "no formal education."[5] The "centers" were located in homes, churches, sheds and shacks or any structure available to the Negroes and had adult leaders who were for the most part housewives and without college training. In the beginning about half of the leaders were school teachers from the former Negro schools. By the spring of 1961, however, almost all of the teachers who had taught in the Negro public schools had left the county.[6]

At first it was reported that almost all of the Negro children were attending the fifteen centers throughout the county. But attend-

---

[2]Interviews in the county and across the state.

[3]John Bartlow Martin, "The Deep South Says Never," The Saturday Evening Post, June-July, 1957.

[4]Richmond Times Dispatch, August 25, 1961, p. 6.

[5]Minutes of a meeting held at Slaughter's Hotel in Richmond, Virginia, on May 8, 1951, called by the Virginia Conference of the NAACP, PECCA, and Prince Edward County Emergency Project of the American Friend Service Committee.

[6]Observations and interviews with county residents.

ence soon began to drop off because of a shortage of adult leadership who could not afford to live on the feeble remuneration offered and also because of critical shortages of necessary supplies, equipment and facilities.[7]

A typical situation in the early days of one of the "centers" saw eighty-five youngsters, ranging in ages from five to eighteen, crowded into the basement of a Negro church, most of them sitting on the floor because there were only three or four chairs. The teacher or leader commanded the attention of only a few of the students while the great majority talked among themselves, read, drew or mischievously played. Many, however, just sat waiting for the time when they could go outside or until they could go home.[8]

Most of the funds for maintaining PECCA and the "centers" were raised among Negro residents of the county. In 1961, the cost of operation of all the "centers" was $1,550 in salaries and $273 in maintenance costs. Another $406 monthly went as office expenses for the Prince Edward County Christian Association.[9] Some donations of money, books and equipment came from many people outside the county and state.[10]

During the first year without schools, some fifty Negro junior and senior students were placed in "the High School division of Kittrell College, a Negro Methodist institution in North Carolina." The costs

---

[7] Interviews with county residents.

[8] Observations in 1960 and 1961.

[9] Minutes of a meeting held at Slaughter's Hotel, op. cit.

[10] Observations and interviews in the county.

were shared by PECCA and Kittrell College.[11]

Probably the most effective, well planned and persistent of all the helping efforts made in the county was the work done, and at this writing being done, by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).[12] As early as the spring of 1960 the AFSC had a worker in the county studying the conditions and making some effort at mending the ruptures in the social fabric. For the 1960-61 school year the AFSC began a program of student placement and other programs dealing with leadership and citizenship development primarily for the Negroes of the county. An estimated fifty high school age students were placed in schools and homes in other parts of Virginia and in other states during the second year without schools.

The AFSC has, to the date of this writing, continuously had their representatives in and out of the county working on the school problem at one level or another. AFSC officials report that they have placed, for all four years of closed schools, a total of sixty-seven Negro students in schools in other Virginia localities and eight other states as far west as Iowa. They further observe that the achievements of their programs are inconclusive at this point and that the real test of their efforts will arise when schools are opened.[13]

Despite the modest claims of achievement by the AFSC, one can

---

[11] Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 151-152.

[12] Observations and interviews in the county.

[13] Interview with Jean Fairfax of the National Office of the AFSC who has co-ordinated AFSC efforts in the county.

readily see the effect of their work in the observation that most of the youngsters who return to visit their families in the county verbalize a new confidence and awareness of their abilities and their rights as American citizens. They seem set on a more resolute demand for social and educational improvements for their race. They appear, in most cases more so than their parents, to be intent on getting the whites to relinquish those privileges which stand in the way of Negro rights.[14]

Aside from student placements by the AFSC and other organizations, some youngsters have entered schools of neighboring counties on their own initiative or under parental influence. These children have usually lived with relatives or friends in the community in which they attended school.[15]

In the spring of 1961, the Richmond Volunteers to Prince Edward County established a weekend recreational and educational program for the Negro children and some adults in the Farmville area. Sports, games, arts, crafts, sewing, movies, industrial arts, dramatics, reading, music, story telling and several other activities were offered to some 130 different children, teenagers and adults. The Recreation Center, purchased through the efforts of the Farmville Recreation Association, a local Negro group, was the main site of activities conducted by the sixty different volunteer teachers, social workers, students, housewives and children from the Richmond area. The volunteer group was integrated and included individuals from nine to sixty-seven years

---

[14] Interviews with Negro students and their parents in the county.

[15] Ibid.

of age. The activity of this group ended during the spring of 1962.

Little can be concluded about the consequences of this effort except that many of the whites and Negroes involved as volunteers experienced for the first time a situation in which whites and Negroes worked and related to one another with equal status. Also, it can be said that it was the first time most Negro residents of the county, both children and adults, had ever seen or talked to whites in any context other than those of "white supremacy" or "white paternalism."[16]

During the summer of 1961, the Virginia Teachers Association (VTA), the state Negro professional teacher's organization, established an experimental "crash remedial instruction program" which ran for one month in an effort to stave off the ill effects of school closing. Teachers from all parts of the state volunteered for the project a whole month or two weeks during their summer vacation. Tests were given the pupils in order to place them on graded levels of [illegible]ion.[17] A similar program was offered during the summer of 1962.[18] Little is known about the effects of these programs.

During the 1962-63 school year, the VTA undertook to place, cooperatively with FEOCA, 200 Negro students in schools outside the county. In January, 1963, the VTA announced that they had located 102 pupils in schools and homes throughout Virginia, the District of Columbia, and New Jersey. The VTA, teachers, friends, parents and other interested

---

[16]From the author's personal experience and records of the project.

[17]Communiques to the author from the VTA dated June 23, 1961.

[18]Interviews in the county.

individuals provided the funds for placement costs.[19]

As of March, 1963, there were for all four years of school closing an estimated total of 250 students from Prince Edward in schools outside of the county, including 107 placed by the VTA,[20] 67 by the AFSC,[21] some 50 at Kittrell College[22] and an undetermined but small number who attended on their own initiative.[23] It is reported by Negroes that almost all of these students who attended schools outside the county were or are in the "upper grades," meaning they were in high schools and junior high schools.[24]

In May of 1962, just before the PECCA "training centers" were closed for good, there were 500 children in the county attending five "centers." Among the five "leaders" was one qualified teacher.[25]

During the summer of 1962 twelve students from five northern colleges and one southern college conducted the Summer College Education Project (SCEP) in three rural churches in Prince Edward County. SCEP was a well-planned and executed educational project which for seven weeks offered instruction in reading, mathematics, science and social

---

[19] Richmond Times Dispatch, January 3, 1963, p. 6.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Interview with Jean Fairfax, op. cit.

[22] Muse, op. cit., p. 151.

[23] Interviews in the county.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Interviews with the director and the secretary of PECCA.

studies to a total of 162 Negro students.[26]

Although the rural summer routine interfered somewhat with the achievements of the project, the participants and other observers considered it to have made several important contributions to lives of some of the school-less children of the county.[27]

During the winter of 1962-62, there was one known "literacy class" being taught for Negro adults. The main objectives of this class was to teach citizenship and to stimulate voter registration.[28] This program was in part influenced by the greater project of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which aims at increasing Negro voters by conducting similar classes in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi as well as other parts of Virginia.[29]

Since the closing of the "training centers" in May, 1962, voter registration has become the primary task of PECCA. However, the organization is soon to be dissolved.[30]

Today, Negro children are seen roaming aimlessly through the streets of Farmville and along the county's roads. Idle hours are long hours in a small town and in agricultural areas in the wintertime. All Negro youngsters interviewed verbalized a hope to return to school soon.

---

[26]Ruth Turner, "Educational Report" (a mimeographed paper by a participant in the program and a student at Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1962).

[27]Ibid. and interviews in the county.

[28]Interview with the teacher of this class.

[29]The Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin, March 24, 1963, Section 1, p. 12.

[30]Interview with the director of PECCA.

included among these were some older teenagers who, when schools are opened, must return to grammar school grades. There is little overt evidence of any tendency toward anti-social behavior on the part of Negro children and teenagers but there is an obvious restiveness.

Negro adults today in the county articulate a new resolute solidarity that was absent in 1961. They feel they are finally on the brink of winning and sense they are on the "right" side. They speak with a sharp tongue about a United States government that would wage war on a southern state to get a single man into the University of Mississippi while not "lifting a finger" to see that their 1,700 children get an opportunity to attend public schools. On the other hand, they acknowledge a world of difference between the "passiveness" of the Eisenhower administration toward their problem and the "more aggressive Kennedy administration."

Negro collective action in the school issue revolves primarily around two hubs. The first is the legal fight which in the county is lead by a single man. This legal fight is for the most part, however, an outside-the-county struggle. The second hub is the internal interaction among the county's Negroes bound together by the Christian churches. These churches are the only means of communication for the Negro. His expressed aspirations and attitudes are excluded from the newspapers and radio stations of the area. At one time the human compulsion to communicate was met, at least in part, by the trip "downtown" or for rural Negroes, the "trip to town" on Saturday. Saturday shopping and socializing in Farmville, however, has somehow become restrained and unsatisfactory to the Negro. His hanging around Reed's Cafe and the Pool Room next door are now watched with a new caution by the burly,

bland, town policeman.

This same resentful surveillance pervades the consciousness of most Prince Edward whites. The white views with disdainful repugnance the appearance of Negro man donned in mud-spattered blue overalls who gather about in small groups on busy Main Street. Fear in the white is quickly transformed to arrogance and he marches haughtily past a Negro group as each of the races bout within themselves both timidity and anger.

This Saturday confrontation in downtown Farmville of two adversaries, one who wants Negroes to remain "in their places," the other demanding that his youngsters be allowed to attend good public schools, is more than either of the races can bear without the most awkward of responses. The county and town are so small and people live in such close ecological proximity, that there is no retreat for Prince Edward County people into the faceless anonymity that hides metropolitan enemies from one another. The militant Negro demanding change is someone the white had "known" and "loved" all his life without ever suspecting that the Negro was disatisfied with his social status. And the Negro had never before made his discontent clearly known.

This new view that the Negro has of himself poses a difficult problem for the white to understand. His first reactions are emotional involuntary. He has no ordered solution in his psychological repertory for this new stimulus because he has been culturally prepared for the dominant role in this two-caste social system.

The Negro, too, searches fruitlessly within himself for something more than a facade of courage and disappointedly finds what appears to him to be only the mask of a new man. He, too, was trained for another

role and new ambivalence toward this white man, both his friend and his enemy, tortures his entire person.[31]

---

[31] Observations and interviews in the county and throughout "Southside" Virginia.

CHAPTER V

THE STATUS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS SINCE CLOSING

Let us now look briefly at what has befallen the county's public school system since closure in 1959.

"Public free schools" in Virginia are said to be "owned and operated by the localities." Therefore, the county holds the deed to buildings and is admittedly responsible for the kind of school system afforded its youngsters.[1] This view, that public schools are a local function, is the basis for the position taken by the counsel for Prince Edward County and the state of Virginia in the debate that was, as of this writing, being carried on in the Federal courts. However, this view is in many respects contradictory with Section 129 through 142 of the Virginia Constitution. Sections 129-142 deal with "Education and Public Instruction." Section 129 asserts, "The General Assembly shall establish and maintain an efficient system of public free schools throughout the state."[2]

From a budget submitted to the county Board of Supervisors some time early in 1958, we find that it cost around $761,000 to pay for public schools in the county when they were last operating. From this

---

[1] Interview with a Finance Officer at the Division of Administration and Finance, State Department of Education, Richmond.

[2] Virginia Constitution. Article IX, Sections 129-142.

document we can also learn that the state payed a good bit over half of those costs, $421,300 to be specific, which suggests that the state feels very keenly the responsibility laid down for it in Section 129 of the state constitution.[3]

It is interesting to note that, although there are presently no public schools operating in the county, the county School Board continues to meet each month.[4] It still must face decisions on such things as what to do with the state "constitutional provision." During the 1959-60 school year, however, the School Board neither requested nor received its share of the "constitutional provision"[5] but has received it each of the three years since.[6] In 1960-61 it amounted to $39,360. For 1961-62 and 1962-63 the amount was a similar figure.[7]

In addition to this problem the county School Board must also decide what is to be done about: the debt from the years prior to school closing, repairs and upkeep of school property and grounds, fire insurance, and administrative costs which still exist.[8] It must also judge what properties to retain and what properties to sell.[9]

---

[3]"Annual Budget Form, Prince Edward County Schools, School Year 1958-59."

[4]Southern School News, November, 1962, p. 4.

[5]Richmond Times Dispatch, August 25, 1961, p. 6.

[6]Interview with a Finance Officer, op. cit.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Southern School News, op. cit.

[9]"School Plant Inventory of Prince Edward County" submitted July 23, 1962, to the State Department of Education by Virginia F. Harper, Clerk of the County School Board.

It is also the function of the School Board to submit budgets for the approval of the county Board of Supervisors. The latter then promptly rejects the relevent parts thereby effecting continued school closing. In June, 1961, for example, the School Board offered the supervisors two alternative budgets. The first was one for full operation including $390,325 in county funds. This local money would have been a little less than half of the total cost of public education. The remaining portion would, of course, have come from the state. The second proposed budget was for a limited, all-Negro system, including local funds of $180,000 for 1,000 Negro students.[10]

The superintendent of schools still functions as the chief administrator for the defunct school system and continues to make his periodic report at the county Board of Supervisors meeting.[11]

All of the school buildings as of February, 1963, were not in use for any purpose with the exception of Mercy Seat Elementary School which is used by the Mercy Seat Baptist (Negro) congregation for Sunday morning worship. In addition, R. R. Moton and Farmville high schools, Rice, Green Bay and Worsham Elementary schools have all been authorized by the School Board as "fall-out shelters."[12]

---

[10] Richmond Times Dispatch, op. cit.

[11] Supervisors Record, No. 2, minutes of the meetings throughout the year 1962.

[12] The Farmville Herald, February 15, 1963, p. 1.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEBATE

We have reviewed the school issue in chapter II in its historical context. Now let us view the matter through the claims and counter-claims of both the whites and the Negroes. We shall then hope to place some of these claims and counter-claims into their proper positions relative to the greater intergroup strife seen in the general trend of white conservatism in its progress toward replacing white supremacy. Our discussion will deal primarily with the white advocate of school closing because it is he who can unlock public school doors.

Prince Edward County, in the words of one white top leader in the school situation, is "a conservative community."[1] The term conservative is not used here by the white southerner in the traditional broad application with which the student of politics is familiar, and should not be confused with the national conservative movement or the political stance generally associated with U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater and journalist William Buckley.[2] Conservatism in the South is something all together different and requires its own unique definition.

---

[1] Interview with a building contractor and life-long resident of the county.

[2] Barry Goldwater, The Conscience of a Conservative (New York: Hillman Periodicals, Inc., 1961) and William F. Buckley, Jr., Up From Liberalism (New York: Hillman Periodicals, Inc., 1961).

In Virginia, it might be said that this variety of conservatism was born when the Conservative party was formed at Richmond in December of 1867. The party's establishment was a reaction by leaders of the old Democratic and Whig parties to, among other things, the Reconstruction Acts of March, 1867. The Conservative party became the post bellum "white" party and sought to halt the political advances of Radical Republicanism or as whites of that day called it, "the black man's party."[3] During the period from 1867 to the early 1890's white conservatives fought bitterly with Negroes, "scalawags" and "carpetbaggers" to regain their ante bellum status, and by the late 1890's all Radical strength was depleted and most Negroes again disenfranchised. The new state constitution of 1902 completed the seizure by white conservatism and laid the foundation for the political climate of contemporary Virginia and likewise Prince Edward County.[4]

Conservatism today, to the metal white Virginian and more particularly to the whites of Prince Edward County, conveys an aura of respectability, a complete and justifiable legal and moral argument in support of their cultural patterns, and a concrete affinity with the older, less complicated years of American history when social roles and status arrays were more clearly apprehended by all strata.[5] It is

---

[3]Richard L. Morton, "The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1918), pp. 46-48.

[4]William E. Nemphill, Marvin W. Schlegel, and Sadie E. Engelberg, Cavalier Commonwealth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 350-356, 372-388, 410-416.

[5]Interviews and experiences in the county and throughout the South Atlantic. In addition, most of the works cited in the appended bibliography either describe, analyse or defend those views which are under discussion in this paper.

neither the contention of nor even of interest to this author whether or not social stratification was, in fact, more clearly defined in America's past. This is simply the interpretation of the way in which the modal white Prince Edward resident views his situation. In other words, he recalls that it used to be that a "Nigra" knew "his place" which in turn lucidly defined the white man's "superior" status.[6]

In the mind of the white Virginian, it was only a few short years ago that the caste hierarchy appeared unalterably solid. But today the white man's social ground trembles with change beneath him. His reactions to this, however, are not a simple case of fear associated with the breaking up of the caste order. The white Virginian is subliminally tormented by most of the same anxieties which pound in the chests of all citizens of the Western world who are in the mainstream of mass communication. Outer-space penetration, impending nuclear holocaust, the thrust toward self-determination by new nations in the world, what is believed to be a threat by the communist nations, the display of obvious dissatisfaction by American Negroes, and many other new conditions have begun to bombard the awareness of the heretofore unsuspecting white person. Conservatism is then not simply the southern white man's adjustment to the changing nature of race relations but is also a response to all of those new world conditions which he considers "perilous."[7]

It cannot be said that the Prince Edward white resident, or any white southerner within the influence of the above described kind of

---

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

cultural trend, has not changed in the wake of new conditions. It has changed considerably. His change and his society's change have the appearance of standing still only in relation to the extraordinary transitions in race relations which have enveloped the United States and the world as a whole since the 1930's.[8]

Let us now turn briefly to some of the more recent antecedents in the attitudes of Prince Edward residents and also examine more closely the content of this conservatism which has played such a prominent role in the school issue. Generally throughout the South after the 1954-55 Supreme Court decisions a mobilization of resistance was begun.[9] The South had resisted the nation many times before but this was something entirely new. Virginia's initial reaction was "Massive Resistance," an aggregate of laws and of state and local government policies which were to thwart the court order until 1959 when desegregation first took place in Virginia in compliance with court orders in Alexandria, Charlottesville and Norfolk cities and Arlington and Warren counties.[10]

But forced desegregation in five school districts in 1959 did not alter the wish among most whites in the state to continue resistance even if losses were heavy. By 1959 whites had discovered that a bit of desegregation did not really change the situation significantly if they held fast to segregation wherever they could. They soon found

---

[8] Ibid.

[9] Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, Neither Black Nor White (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 15-35.

[10] Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 19-28, 62-148.

that it took a lot of years, a lot of dollars and a lot of litigation to make even the smallest gains against whites. Therefore, every little barrier whites set up and defended, in their minds, became a "moral victory."[11]

Out of this cognizance on the part of Prince Edward whites was born a "tradition" of conservative resistance. Resistance and exhaustive efforts at circumventing the court orders soon became a duty of valor for white leadership and Prince Edward leaders performed their duties with the highest order of devotion. Therefore, a pattern of recalcitrance was established in the county based on a hybrid creed, combining a sort of sublimated racism with a "states rights" version of the U.S. Constitution or what Arnold Rose referred to as the "nearly fanatic worship of the Constitution."[12]

In this creed, the v[illegible] of themselves and their view of the Negro had not changed substantially, but the framework from which this "unspoken white supremacy" was justified had been enlarged to include new and more varied sources of evidence. Intensely vocal, white supremist leaders had found themselves abandoned by the economic, educational and other elite classes because of what had become embarressing sharp-edged racism. Although puzzled at first with the new demands by the elite, some of the white supremist leaders quickly learned that in light of new conditions, racism had to become "sophisticated." The community's top influencials wanted something new, a more subtle variety

---

[11]Interviews in the county and throughout many parts of the state.

[12]Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1962), p. 4.

of racism, one cloaked in the "sacred garb" of "free enterprise," "state sovereignty," "individual liberties," and "private property."[13] Corollaries of these tenets were the predilection for frequent criticisms of alledged federal encroachment on state and individual rights, the socialistic leanings of the ever-more-centralizing federal government, the increasing United States deference to the UN, the seemingly diabolic nature of the emerging anti-colonial forces in the world and finally, allegations of creeping communism and the pro-communist leanings of American public figures.[14] This aggregate creed, in addition to its vigorous chauvinism, was a race philosophy based on what the exponents of it claimed to be the "documented" and "objective" findings of a number of "authoritative" students of anthropology, biology, psychology and genetics.[15] In addition, it was a racism predicated on the mental role that non-whites have played in "Western-centric" history. By this we refer to those pseudo-historical views which insist that Europe, or more specifically northern and western Europe, was the true cradle of civilization.[16]

This white southern conservative position soon found its way

---

[13] Interviews in the county and throughout many parts of Virginia.

[14] "Report of Resolutions," adopted by the Board of Directors of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties on December 9, 1961. Also, see the relevant works listed in the bibliography.

[15] Carleton Putnam, Race and Reason (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1961), Foreword by T. R. Waring and Introduction by W. R. Gates, et al. Also, see the relevant works listed in the bibliography.

[16] e.g., Earnest Sevier Cox, Teutonic Unity (Richmond: privately published, 1951 and Richard Kelly Haskins, "Our Nordic Race" (Richmond: privately published, 1958). Other similar works are listed in the bibliography.

into publication. Thousands of books, pamphlets, tracts and letters have now been printed and accumulated as a bibliotheca for the edification of white conservatism. The works asserting and defending this persuasion are endlessly numbered but in Virginia and Prince Edward there are some which particularly exemplify the position of the conservative of whom we speak. They include: Audrey M. Shuey's, The Testing of Negro Intelligence; James Jackson Kilpatrick's, The Southern Case for School Segregation; Carleton Putnam's Race and Reason, A Yankee View; Nathaniel Weyl's, The Negro in American Civilization; William Workman's, The Case for the South; Dr. W. C. George's, Race, Heredity, and Civilization; Roger Pearson's, Eugenics and Race; Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's, You Can Trust the Communists; and the many publications produced or recommended by the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties or the tax-supported Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government.

Thus came about the modernization of racism. [illegible] influencials, having been alerted by a revolutionary new world, had up-dated the southern creed in hopes of insuring the survival of white privileges. Conservatism has consequently become the name for a re-constituted body of thought, designed not only to absolve the southerner from his failure to reform his society but also as a sublimation for his residual racism.

The "benign" character of this conservatism should not be overstated, however. There still exists, despite denial by most top leaders, a good deal of obvious and overt racist behavior among many of the county's more sophisticated white residents. By racist behavior we mean that behavior of those individuals who actively, in one way or another, pursue the doctrine of "White," "Nordic," "Western" or "Anglo-Saxon supremacy." The editor and publisher of the local newspaper is an ex-

student of racist writers[17] while many other respected citizens of the county also show interest in the findings of the noted exponents of "academic" racism.[18] For instance, it was reported in a February, 1959, Farmville Herald that two chartered bus loads of Prince Edward County residents took the 150 mile trip to Washington, D.C. to hear a speech by the celebrated spokesman for racism, Carleton Putnam.[19]

Of course, this nonviolent or "academic" doctrine does not entirely pervade in every rural crevice of the county. People who are not among leadership, economic, educational or other elite classes express much more freely their ardent and much less sophisticated segregationist and white supremacy attitudes and allude to compulsions by nature, history and God for the continued separation of the races not only in public schools but in every respect.[20]

There is one factor which we find somewhat different in Prince Edward County from many other sections of the South. And this is the intolerance for violence which permeates all Virginia law. Although there are probably just as many violent-prone segments in the population, law enforcement officers are by tradition and statutes compelled to prevent and quell group or mob violence. This bulwark against mob ferocity was manifest as early as 1928 when Virginia, under Governor Harry F. Byrd, passed and began the enforcement of a stringent anti-lynching law. It was one of the first such laws in the country and

---

[17] Interviews with this editor and publisher.

[18] Interviews in the county.

[19] The Farmville Herald, February 19, 1959, p. 8A.

[20] Interviews in the county.

virtually put a permanent end to Negro lynchings in the state.[21]

The more specific argument for school closing and against desegregation by the Prince Edward white leadership is not a complete one nor is there any attempt to make it a rational one. Whites exercise little effort to make their position tenable in any respect other than the legal position. Leaders avoid being pinned down on any aspects of the school issue except the "legal point." As one top leader put it, "We didn't close schools, we just didn't appropriate funds for schools. It's a legal matter."[22] Whites further argue that the United States Supreme Court and all of the federal courts were unlawful in ordering desegregation because the Congress passed no law to that effect. Also, it is argued that public education is the responsibility of the various states and that local and state autonomy is insured by the Tenth Amendment.[23]

The 1954 and 1955 decisions, it is asserted, "submit the children of Prince Edward County to conditions" which are deeply and conscientiously believed "to be pernicious."[24] It is also insisted that this whole issue is devoid of racial implications. It is pointed out that there is not and never has been any racial strife in the county except that which is or was "stirred up" by communists and the NAACP or "NACP" as it is more frequently called. In addition, it is contended that

---

[21] June Purcell Guild, Black Laws of Virginia (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1936), p. 171.

[22] Interview with the editor and publisher of the local newspaper.

[23] Interviews in the county.

[24] Supervisors Record, No. 8, minutes of the meeting of the County Board of Supervisors on May 3, 1956.

whites have and always will be deeply concerned with the state of Negro education. They express regret that schools are not available to all Negroes but quickly note that Negro parents were offered schools and refused them. They also hasten to point out that only a minimum of Negroes are not in schools somewhere. They reason that the number normally expected to be drop-outs added to those who are in schools outside the county leaves only very few without educational opportunities. But the universally heard comment on school closing is, "Serves 'em right, though."[25] The reader is reminded that in 1959 there was a school capacity for 2,100 Negro children[26] and that all newspaper estimates of the number of Negro students in 1959 were between 1,700 and 1,800.[27] The reader is also reminded that the total school placements by the AFSC, the VTA and others have never totaled more than 250 Negro students for all four years in which schools have been closed.[28]

The argument in favor of opening the public schools held by the Negroes and some whites is a relatively simple one. It is, as of this writing, not so much related to the hope for desegregation as it is to the desire to simply have public schools operate in the county. Most Negroes, including the county NAACP co-ordinator, are even willing to accept a situation in which only Negro children would attend public schools

---

[25] Interviews in the county.

[26] "School Plant Inventory of Prince Edward County," submitted July 23, 1962, to the State Department of Education by Virginia F. Harper, Clerk of the county School Board.

[27] Richmond Times Dispatch, August 24, 1961, p. 1.

[28] See Chapter IV, p. 50 in this paper for further details.

while all or most whites would continue to attend the Prince Edward School Foundation classes.[29] It is unlikely that any or at best only a few whites would attend predominately Negro "desegregated" schools because of fears associated with ostracism, intimidation, reprisal and even some violence from other whites.

Most of the desegregation content in the Negro argument has failed to weather the twelve-year battle to improve educational conditions for Negro children. The issue with the Negro, weary and impatient from years of endless social chaos, today is simply—when will schools open and who will help us open them?[30]

Among the county's white people there are a number of individuals who have been from the beginning opponents of school closing. There are also an additional number who have joined these ranks after experiencing school closing. Most of these two categories will not, however, express their true attitudes except in the most confidential setting for fear of adverse white reaction. Nevertheless, there have been some six to fifteen individuals in the county over a period of years who have made their opposition unquestionably clear in public.

The reader should be reminded that few of the above described white individuals could actually be considered "egalitarians" or "integrationists," with the known exception of the most notable of these opponents, the Dean of the state women's college in Farmville. Opposition by whites has largely been predicated on the assumption that the closing of schools and the problems resulting are much too dear a price

---

[29]Interview with the NAACP Co-ordinator.

[30]Interviews in the county.

to pay for a temporary escape from the inevitability of desegregation.[31]

Although there have been some cooperative efforts between whites and Negro residents of the county, little has been achieved to influence the opening of schools. Some meetings of opponents of school closing, including those attended by only whites, have resulted in incidents of intimidation and reprisal.[32]

[31] Ibid.

[32] Interviews and the author's personal experience in the county.

CHAPTER VII

THREE APPARENT EFFECTS OF SCHOOL CLOSING

Although there are suspected to be numerous uncovered effects accruing from the closure of public schools, we shall limit our discussion here to only three.

One outcome has been the increased awareness on the part of many Negroes of the importance of the ballot. The school issue has apparently become a catalyst for the heaviest registration of Negroes in recent history of the county.

Registration for voting in Prince Edward County as all over Virginia currently requires that a person must pay a poll tax of $1.50 six months in advance of an election and also that one shall have paid that tax for three years preceding the pending election. Registration is allowed by the state constitution and law to be largely at the discretion of the local registrar.[1] However, there have been no known unmerited restraints on registration as far as this author can determine.[2] The U.S. Department of Justice examined Prince Edward County registration procedures in 1961 and also found no faulty or unlawful practices.[3]

---

[1] Virginia Constitution. Article II, Sections 18-30.

[2] Interviews in the county.

[3] The Farmville Herald, February 5, 1963, p. 1.

PECCA has been working on increasing the number of Negro voting registrants. Some indication of their work is seen by the fact that nineteen Negroes registered between December 1, 1962, and February 5, 1963, while only four whites registered during that same period.[4] There were, as of February, 1962, 5,559 registrants in the county including 4,433 whites and 1,126 Negroes.[5] PECCA reported that there were only 900 Negroes registered in the county in 1961.[6]

A second suspected effect of school closing has been what appears to be extensive and rapidly growing illiteracy. Most of the children of grammar school ages in Prince Edward have been without any competent instruction ever since school closing in June of 1959. Therefore, one would be led to believe that school closing has been directly responsible for unusual quantities of illiteracy. The question is—How widespread is illiteracy? To answer this query the author has ventured an extremely conservative estimate of "illiteracy" in Prince Edward County and the computing of this estimate follows.

The United States Office of Education defines an adult "illiterate" as an individual "eighteen and over with less than six years of schooling."[7] The Office of Education also reports that 15.3 per cent of the state of Virginia's population falls into this category.[8] We

---

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Interview with secretary of PECCA.

[7] The New York Times, April 8, 1962, p. E7.

[8] Ibid.

have for the purpose of estimation assumed that this 15.3 per cent is an excessively conservative estimate of the number of adult "illiterates" in Prince Edward County, the rationale being that it can easily be demonstrated with the 1960 census data that the county falls considerably below the state in "median school years completed" and significantly higher than the state in the percentage of those who have "completed less than five years of school."[9] Thus, the estimate of adult "illiterates" is 2,161, rounded to the nearest whole number.[10]

Using again the criterion of six years of school as the test for literacy, we find that an estimated 700 Negro children would, if schools had remained open, be "literate."[11] This figure of 700 is a conservative estimate of the number of children who in 1958-59 were in the second, third, fourth and fifth grades and would have been expected (in the case of open schools) to proceed to the sixth grade and "literacy." This estimate of 700 includes a slender deduction for those children among the second, third, fourth and fifth graders of 1958-59, who are surmised to have learned reading and writing skills to the satisfaction of our definition in their homes, in schools outside the county, and in various instructional programs conducted in the county. It also includes a deduction for drop-outs, failures and those children whose families have moved out of the county.

There are, of course, an estimated 700 more children, ages two

---

[9] County and City Data Book, 1962 (Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1962), p. 393.

[10] Ibid., p. 392.

[11] Computed from a student population figure for 1959 given by the county superintendent of schools to the AFSC in 1962.

through six who in 1958-59 were pre-school or first graders and who would have achieved (had schools been open) by the conclusion of the 1962-63 session at least some of the language skills taught in the first through the fifth grades.

Neither of these estimates of 700 children, a total of 1,400, accounts for those children of other ages who have experienced the loss of reading and writing skills because of a failure to drill or to use these skills. Also, they preclude a figure for those whites who because of one reason or another have not reached the sixth grade or "literacy" in white private schools.

Thus, a total of 1,400 children, if they fail to receive any further language instruction, upon their eighteenth birthday will be "functional illiterates" by the definition of the U.S. Office of Education.

We now add to the 2,161 adult "illiterates" in this projected estimate of 1,400 "will-be-illiterates." These total [illegible] persons who have become or upon their eighteenth birthday are expected to become "illiterates." This means that, as of the spring of 1959, 45.29 per cent or about one in every four persons in Prince Edward County can be expected to become an "illiterate." In addition, the number of this estimate is expected to increase at least by 175 persons each year.[12]

No matter what the weaknesses in this computation may be the figures still suggest unusual and alarming conditions relative to the learning of language skills.

A third effect of school closing revolves around physical and

---

[12] Ibid.

mental health. Public schools, especially in southern rural regions, play an important role in the health and hygiene of the families of public school pupils. Often the teacher or other school personnel are the only individuals in a given rural community who can recognize threats to the physical and mental health in the locality. Therefore, since school closing large numbers of the Negro youngsters, particularly in the rural areas of the county, have not come in contact (for years at a time in some instances) with any adult who can spot medical or social problems or who can offer assistance or advice in solving such problems.[13] As a result, many serious maladies exist unnoticed or ignored by those who are uninformed.

All of the volunteer and professional projects in the county since 1959 report the discovery of severe problems associated with poverty, neglect and ignorance.[14] Endless cases of malnutrition, decayed teeth, eye trouble, respiratory diseases and social and psychiatric disorders have been far too voluminous for the county's public health nurse to uncover and resolve.[15]

There are, of course, many other educational, economic, psychological and social consequences directly attributable to school closing which have not yet been fully studied or explained. Some will not even be known until schools are opened and the problems of educating the human products of a school-less sub-culture are faced.

---

[13]Observations and Interviews in the county and throughout the South Atlantic.

[14]Observations and Interviews in the county and Interviews and communiques with representatives from VTA, AFSC, SCEP, [illegible] and others.

[15]Ruth Turner, "Educational Report" (a mimeographed paper by a participant in SCEP and student at Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1962), p. 10; personal observations; and Interviews in the county.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

In March and early April of 1963 The Farmville Herald ended each of its editorials on the school situation with the advice, "Stand Steady Prince Edward!"[1] It may be that this speaks for the determination of most of the white residents to continue to defy, in any way they might, the authority of the federal government. Their continued failure to appropriate funds for public schools is, and whites know it well, their most lethal weapon against those who would have their children attend schools with Negroes.[2]

Despite this, the once monolithic white front of support for the county's policy is now beginning to appear brittle. The state is beginning to become embarrassed by the behavior of Prince Edward County. The governor, although hesitant in making direct statements for fear of alienating the powerful and cohesive "Southside" contingent in the General Assembly, which in Virginia is like writing one's own political obituary, is reported by some as wanting an end to this widely publicised conflict. The governor purportedly fears that a federal injunction might soon order all schools in the state closed so long as school

---

[1] The Farmville Herald, March 15, 1963, p. 4A; March 22, 1963, p. 1B; March 29, 1963, p. 1; April 2, 1963, p. 4A.

[2] Interviews in the county.

doors in Prince Edward are shut.[3] In addition, the editors of both Richmond newspapers, once potent proponents of any kind of defiance short of violence and secession, have now appealed to the county to re-open its schools.[4] They are, however, careful to point out their ever-abiding sympathy with the county in its "battle to establish the principle of local control of their own affairs."[5]

Another wedge in the cleaving solidarity for keeping schools closed is the fact that the cost to parents for sending their children to private schools without the aid of state and county tuition grants has become increasingly prohibitive for most white parents.[6] Moreover, many white leaders are beginning to feel that they have now prepared whites well with all-white private schools and that the county has done all it can to demonstrate its intention to resist desegregation in its public schools. The whites have found that they have exhausted nearly every conceivable alternative but to re-open schools. Some leaders are then ready to open public schools with full knowledge that the public school system would, in fact, be all-Negro and that the following would probably occur. First, whites would continue to use their all-white private schools.[7] Secondly, whites would again become eligible for

---

[3] The Farmville Herald, March 22, 1963, p. 1 and interviews in the county and throughout central Virginia.

[4] Richmond Times Dispatch, March 29, 1963, p. 10 and interviews in the county and throughout central Virginia.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Interviews in the county.

[7] The Farmville Herald, April 5, 1963, p. 1.

state and local tuition and transportation grants amounting to about $265 per child each year.[8] And finally, most poor white families, unable to pay the additional costs of private education would forbid their children to attend public schools because of intimidation and reprisal by other whites or because of the steadfastness of their own segregationist convictions.[9]

Preventing one's child from attending school is permissible in Virginia because the state school attendance law was changed in 1956 so as to abolish compulsory school attendance. The 1956 law was repealed in 1959 but the subsequent attendance law, in effect, still does not require attendance at any school in order that children might not be compelled to attend desegregated classes.[10]

There are four conceivable deterrents to the above described outcome. The first is the apparent reluctance of whites to surrender their old public school buildings for use by Negroes because they feel that there would then be no turning back to public schools. Secondly, there appears to be a reluctance on the part of whites to pay the highest taxes in county history to finance both a tuition grant program and a public school system for Negroes. There has been some feeling for years among whites that Negro education is not their financial responsibility. A third impasse to the opening of schools is the belief held widely by

---

[8] Interviews in the county.

[9] Ibid. and the author's familiarity with behavioral patterns in the region.

[10] Statistical Summary (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962), pp. 52-53 and the author's experience with school attendance problems as a social worker in the region.

most whites, who are not among the leadership, that desegregation is not inevitable nor is their symbolic rallying focus, public school closing, going to be significantly altered. They express the feeling that they shall "hold out forever."[11] The final hurdle is the order by a state court in March of 1963 in which the judge declared that tuition and transportation grants as well as school closing are all permissible under Virginia law and the state constitution. This turn of events could renew the resistance of the county and will, to be sure, create a major conflict with orders of the federal courts.[12]

In viewing these factors it is obviously impossible to predict if, or when, public schools will be opened. Twelve years have transpired since the Prince Edward County brief was filed. It has been, at this writing, nearly eight years since the United States Supreme Court implemented its 1954 decision. One would think that these years would have stretched the federal court's order to desegregate with "all deliberate speed" nearly to its capacity. The federal courts, then, should be expected from now on out to be more specific and stringent in their decrees. At least, this was the contention of some observers.[13]

But what if public schools are unexpectedly opened as soon as September of 1963? Would this finally terminate the school struggle in Prince Edward County? The answer to this is by all means "no." There will be extensive problems associated with re-establishing public schools. In most respects it will be like starting a new system.

---

[11] Interviews with whites in the county.

[12] Richmond Times Dispatch, March 28, 1963, pp. 1, 6.

[13] The Farmville Herald, April 12, 1963, pp. 1, 7.

The county school superintendent has remarked that if schools are opened in September there will be an estimated 700 children (presumably all Negroes) in the first grade alone. The superintendent suggests that to secure enough teachers will be a massive task in itself.[14] Indeed, it will be. The system would need at least fifty teachers if there are as estimates have it, some 1,500 to 1,600 Negro children who would attend public schools. It is very unlikely that fifty new teachers could be hired by the fall of 1963 at the low salaries purportedly paid to teachers in Prince Edward before school closing.[15] The stigma of social and economic instability and the ever-diminishing appeal of rural or small town situations to young teacher candidates compounds this problem even more.[16]

The employment of teachers, obviously, is not the only problem associated with getting life blood back into a defunct school operation. Buses and buildings must be put in shape. Bus drivers, janitors, and other personnel must be hired. Textbooks and equipment must be procured.[17] All of these things and others take time, money and effective administration. The fact that the county is predominately rural makes these tasks doubly difficult. It is, therefore, not probable that Prince Edward County with its relatively limited resources can put together an accreditable public school system in less than a year with-

---

[14] Ibid., March 22, 1963, pp. 1, 7.

[15] Interviews in the county and from the author's general knowledge of salary ranges in Virginia.

[16] Interviews in the county.

[17] The Farmville Herald, March 22, 1963, pp. 1, 7.

out securing help from the state or federal governments or aid from some other qualified source.

We need only allude to other problems related to the recovery of normal educational and psychological conditions among the children of the county, both white and Negro. Deficient language skills and broken study habits of those who four years before attended schools will pose many a problem to a new school system. Needless to say, the new schools will have to establish behavioral patterns conducive to study, concentration and motivation among children up to twelve years of age who have never experienced any school discipline. It is obvious what problems follow from this.

One final question is—How much will all this cost? Will a budget along the lines of those prior to school closing prove adequate? It is hard to believe this to be the case. Local taxes would have to be raised to an all time high in order to finance a grant-in-aid program and an all-Negro public school system. Will county whites pay the high costs of segregation? This remains to be seen.

No matter when the children of Prince Edward County resume attendance of public school classes, it will only be the beginning of many new and mammoth obstacles. At the time of this writing, one tenacious question was hovering over the burdened consciousness of Prince Edward County. It was succinctly expressed by a clerical worker in the county court house in Farmville in January of 1963 when she asked—"When will this mess end?"[10]

---

[10]Interview.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Bloch, Charles J. States Rights: The Law of the Land. Atlanta: The Harrison Company, 1958.

Bradshaw, Herbert C. History of Prince Edward County, Virginia. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1955.

Burrell, Charles E. A History of Prince Edward County, Virginia. The Williams Printing Co., 1922.

Campbell, Byram. Race and Social Revolution. New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 1953.

Carwile, Howard H. Speaking From Hardland. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1960.

Cox, Earnest Sevier. Teutonic Unity. Richmond: privately published, 1951.

Dykeman, Wilma, and James Stokeley. Neither Black Nor White. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957.

Guild, June Purcell. Black Laws of Virginia. Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1936.

_____. Civil Rights and States' Rights. Richmond: Va. State Conference NAACP, 1960.

Hamphill, William E., Marvin W. Schlegel, and Sadie E. Engelberg. Cavalier Commonwealth. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957.

Hughes, William Hardin and Frederick Patterson (editors). Robert Russa Moton of Hampton and Tuskegee. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

Jefferson, Thomas. Notes on the State of Virginia. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954.

Key, V. O., Jr. Southern Politics In State and [illegible]. New York: Random House, 1949.

Kilpatrick, James Jackson. The Southern Case For School Segregation. USA: Crowell-Collier Press, 1962.

_____. The Sovereign States. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1957.

Mitchell, Clanford E. and William H. Peace, III. The Angry Black South. New York: Corinth Books, 1962.

Moton, Robert Russa. Finding a Way Out. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920.

_____. What the Negro Thinks. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940.

Muse, Benjamin. Virginia's Massive Resistance. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.

Putnam, Carleton. Lincoln and Race: A Yankee View. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1961.

Rose, Arnold. The Negro In America. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1962 (6th printing).

Shuey, Audrey M. The Testing of Negro Intelligence. Lynchburg, Va: J. P. Bell Co., Inc., 1958.

Talpalar, Norris. The Sociology of Colonial Virginia. New York: Philosophical Library, 1960.

Today And Yesterday In The Heart Of Virginia. Farmville: The Farmville Herald, 1955.

Virginia's Government. Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1961 (5th printing, revised).

Wallace, Anthony F. C. "The Cultural Distribution of Personality Characteristics" (chapter III) in Culture and Personality. New York: Random House, 1961.

Weyl, Nathaniel. The Negro In American Civilization. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1961.

Workman, William D., Jr. The Case For The South. New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1960.

Periodicals

Detweiler, Frederick. "The Rise of Modern Race Antagonisms," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVII (March, 1932), 733-744.

Hacker, Andrew. "The States' Rights Gang War," New York Times Magazine, (October 21, 1956), 31, 106-107, 113.

"The Congress: Giving Them Fits" (cover story on Harry Flood Byrd), Time, Vol. L, No. 7 (August, 1947), 11-15.

Pamphlets and Reports

Cox, Earnest Sevier. "Let My People Go." Richmond: The White America Society, 1925.

_____. "Unending Hate," Richmond: Privately printed, 1955 (3rd printing).

"Did The Court Interpret Or Amend," Richmond: Va. Commission on Constitutional Government, 1960.

George, W. C. "Race, Morality and Civilization," London: Britons Publishing Society, 1951.

_____. "The Biology of the Race Problem." Prepared by Commission of the Governor of Alabama, 1962.

Hoskins, Richard Kelly. "Our Nordic Race," Richmond: Privately printed, 1958.

Horton, Richard L. "The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1902-1965." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1966.

"Report of Resolutions Committee" adopted by the Board of Directors of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties on December 9, 1961.

"Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Governor and General Assembly of Virginia." Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, Division of Purchase and Supply, 1961.

"Statistical Summary of School Segregation—Desegregation in the Southern and border states." Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, 1962.

Stock, John C. "The Prince Edward County Virginia Story." Farmville: The Farmville Herald, 1961 (Third printing).

"The Doctrine of Interposition: Its History and Application." Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, Division of Purchase and Printing, 1957, Senate Document No. 21.

"The Issue Presented in Prince Edward County Virginia," published by the Committee in Support of Prince Edward.

Turner, Ruth. "Educational Report." unpublished paper by a student at Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1952.